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ABSTRACT

This paper reports on a study conducted to examine a shift in responsibility for learning to the students in an advanced placement American history class. Specifically, the extent to which students (N=9) were analytic in their thinking and writing and self-directed in their work was investigated. Naturalistic inquiry and comparative analysis were used to identify emerging themes among the data collected through interviews with the students and the teacher, classroom observation, analysis of student papers, and a student questionnaire. A rubric for analysis, including student background, interpretation of the meaning of analytic skills, perspective towards history, and the meaning of self-directed learning, provided a framework for the creation of case studies, four of which are presented in the text. Regarding student analytic skills, more evidence of evaluation and interpretation was found in student writing, and more justifying orally was discovered in student interaction. Use of content seemed to be the least emphasized. All nine students perceived student directed learning (SDL) as doing and completing assignments on their own, not as an intellectual growth process, i.e., using their minds well by developing an internalized, historically grounded perspective. Only one student's work approximated the criteria for SDL; the others had attitudes grounded in their backgrounds, not perspectives grounded in American history. Appendixes provide a class survey for classroom restructuring, rubric for analysis of five remaining students, and an interview excerpt. (Contains 30 references.) (LL)

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Exploring the Student-as-Worker Metaphor:

How Do You Get There from Here?

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Abstract

A teacher's efforts to shift the responsibility for learning to her students in an advanced placement (AP) American history class were studied by examining the extent to which nine students were: 1) analytic in their thinking and writing, and 2) self-directed in their work. The four-person investigative team used naturalistic inquiry and constant comparative analysis to identify emerging themes among the data collected through interview of students and the teacher, classroom observation, analysis of student papers, and a student questionnaire. Regarding student analytic skills, more evidence of student evaluation and interpretation was found in their writing, and more justifying orally was discovered in their interactions with each other. Use of content seemed the least emphasized. All nine students perceived self-directed learning (SDL) as doing and completing assignments on their own, not as an intellectual growth process, i.e., using their minds well by developing an internalized, historically grounded perspective. Only Karen's work (choice of Marxist historiography, use of primary sources, and apparent detachment from the present, e.g., "the big picture") approximated the three criteria for SDL. The other eight students had attitudes grounded in their backgrounds, not perspectives grounded in American history.

**Exploring the Student-as-Worker Metaphor:
How Do You Get There from Here?**

I began to realize that the teacher was being seen as the prime worker in the educational enterprise and the productivity being talked about was not increased learning, but increased delivery of educational services. If it is increased learning that we want, then the prime worker is not the teacher--it is the student. (Seeley, 1980, p. 7)

Despite Seeley's clarion call for genuine school reform, few school reformers have focused on the most crucial issue: producing critical, independent learners. Site-based management, school choice, and teacher empowerment are being treated as ends in themselves and have had little impact on schooling's core technology, i.e., classroom teaching and learning (Murphy, 1991). "Few reform efforts have touched on the heart of the educational process, what is taught and how it is taught" (The National Governors' Association, 1989, p. 1). Revisions in organizational and governance structures, conversely, should linked more tightly to revisions in curriculum and instruction (Bolin, 1989) and be "backward mapped" from the student (Elmore, 1979-80). Fundamental decisions about how to restructure education processes for more effective learning should flow from rich conceptions about

teaching and learning and should *precede* (emphases added) other restructuring aspects of schooling (Murphy, 1991, citing Sykes and Elmore, 1989).

In this paper we report on the extent to which nine students in an advanced placement (AP) American history class became analytical and self-directed in their work. Our research team, consisting of a university professor, a principal and an assistant principal satisfying degree requirements, and a high school history teacher (participating as an active researcher), focused on the teacher's efforts to shift the responsibility for learning to her students during the 1992-93 academic year.

Theoretic Framework

The concept of student as worker is a serious indictment of the teacher-dominated "chalk and talk" tradition of American education (see Goodlad, 1984;Sizer, 1984). In many high school classrooms there has been "...a complex, tacit conspiracy to avoid sustained, rigorous, demanding, academic inquiry (Sedlack, Wheeler, Pullin, & Cusick, 1986, p. 5). "The real problem is with students who attend school but have functionally dropped out" (personal communication with T. R. Sizer, November 9, 1989). Students asked to display teacher-presented information back to teachers soon forget what they have learned since they are not partners in the meaning making (Sizer, 1991).

Emphasizing the student as worker metaphor is the attempt to institutionalize student engagement, defined by Newmann (1989) as the student's psychological investment in learning, comprehending,

and mastering knowledge and skills. In practice teachers will need to win student interest in and cooperation with the learning tasks (Metz, 1988).

Sizer (1990) advocates students using their minds well. Teachers should teach thoughtfully and allow the students to do the hard work, to discover the formulas, and to research and defend their ideas and findings: "We must provoke in all students a habit of thoughtfulness, and...create a society of thinkers...." (p. 10). Wiggins (cited by Chion-Kenney, 1987), describes the metaphor teacher-as-coach as teachers guiding and probing their students, who are primarily responsible for coming to grips with problems.

In our study we used four skills (specified in the teacher's syllabus) to define **student analysis**: 1) evaluating: critiquing an author's assertions, e.g., in a primary source; 2) interpreting: understanding various historical viewpoints; 3) justifying: supporting a position; and 4) using content: developing and supporting a thesis with factually correct information.

We defined **Self-directed learning** (SDL) as the students' self-regulated ability to be meaning makers using primary sources, text, and interaction both with teachers and peers to construct perspectives grounded in historical contexts (Zimmerman & Schunk, 1989). In developing unique perspectives, students exercise a deliberative detachment from the present and revise these perspectives through peer and teacher interaction.

Assumptions For This Study

Based largely on the work of Rorty (1979) and of Bakhtin (1953), cited by Hunsaker & Johnston, 1992, we assumed that language was not analogous to a mirror reflecting a social reality that was objectively out there. Language, conversely, is constructed socially and through it we create a particular view of reality. Our four assumptions regarding the connection between student analytic skills and SDL were:

1) The analytic skills of the nine students studied in this class would improve, as they had more opportunities to make their own meaning of historical events and trends through analysis of primary sources, cooperative learning groups, and class discussion.

2) Perspectives would be grounded in historical events as a way to view the present, and that students would make conscious choices, e.g., source documents, based on their perspectives.

3) With self-directed learning students would challenge each other in their perspectives, since a clear perspective is a prerequisite to SDL.

4) Developmentally, the more honed one's SDL, the more historical events would be used to interpret the present.

Case Background

Sampson High School (SHS), located in a small city of 18,000, is both a regional service center, e.g., hospital, legal services, shopping, and a growing ex-suburb of a large Southern city. SHS has 850 students (65% white and 35% black) with diverse

socioeconomics. Many parents are business owners, attorneys, professors, engineers from large corporations, and physicians; yet 28% in the high school are on free-and-reduced lunch. Selected as a state School of Excellence both in 1986 and in 1992, SHS has been a Southeastern leader in learning technology. Partly because of an ambitious superintendent and the influence of several large globally-oriented industries and a state college, SHS has developed a business relationship with Telecommunications, Inc.

RG has taught American history for 12 years at SHS. She has BA and MA degrees in history and a EdS in secondary education and is considered a major player in her district's reform efforts. As a member of a district restructuring team, RG visited an innovative, student-centered high school in Oregon with a national reputation for integrating classrooms with technology.

In an initial interview, RG used these questions to describe the extent to which she hoped students would become independent learners: 1) "Why do you as a student think this way? 2) What is your source of information? 3) Is your source valid, given your classmates' perspectives"?

Of the 27 white and 3 black students starting this American history class (27 white students and 3 black), six dropped out. Although an advanced placement course, the principal places few restrictions for entrance criteria, e.g., above-average reading comprehension, completing assignments, an enjoyment of reading. Consequently, the range of student abilities presumably is greater than that in many AP classes. (RG later identified several students who, given their intellectual abilities, should not have

been in the class.)

Student development of analytic skills and self-directed learning were affected by several structural and programmatic features in this AP class. Students knew they had to analyze primary source documents and identification of the authors' perspectives. Second, only students scoring "3s," "4s," and "5s" in the advance placement exam can opt out of United States history in college. Because of these two circumstances, some students were motivated to do well on the class assignments in which analysis of primary documents was required to prepare themselves for the AP test in May. (Students, however, are not required to take the AP exams.) Third, RG assigned 6 critiques of primary source documents, in which students defined the problem and analyzed the authors' solutions to the stated or implied problems; 3 position papers, in which students read and compared at least two different points of view on controversial issues, and both established and defended their positions; and 2 historiographies, in which students established the position taken by the authors and then developed their own positions, and one major term paper.

Fourth, because of the nature of the United States History AP exam, teachers are pressured to cover the entire curriculum. From year to year teachers and students never know which specific historical periods might be covered in the exam. Instead of dealing with only a few issues in depth (advocated bySizer, 1984; 1986), teachers are forced to "cover" the Exploration Period through Reconstruction Period. The AP exam is a definite disadvantage to a teacher's attempt to empower students into

learning for themselves, since the "swamp of coverage" means that few, if any, issues can be probed with any depth of meaning. Fifth, at SHS student grades are not "weighted," in favor of AP classes. Grade-conscious students (especially those hoping for college scholarships based on grade point average) might avoid these AP courses, since SHS officials do not supply the structural incentive. (Two of these nine students claimed they would not have taken this course--had they realized the repercussions of the grading procedure.)

Methodology

Given the exploratory nature of this study, we used naturalistic inquiry as our methodology. Rather than comparing our findings with pre-established theory, we used constant comparative analysis, in which data were analyzed and compared for goodness of fit *as they were collected*. During nine meetings (9/30/92, 10/16, 11/04, 2/27/93, 4/14, 5/08, 5/21, 6/26, and 7/21), the researchers slowly developed a series of themes subject to validation through further data collection. As an interpretive study, findings were grounded in the data themselves (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Data Collection.

Our data sources were: 1) interviews of students and the teacher, 2) classroom observation, 3) analysis of student papers, and 4) student questionnaire. We conducted over 100 **interviews** of the nine students chosen by the teacher as socioeconomically, racially, and intellectually representative of the class. Three

types of questions were asked. We initiated our study with *broad questions*, e.g., What were the student attitudes and expectations for this history course? Were students becoming more empowered and self-aware as learners?

As we began identifying potential themes during our periodic data assessments, our questions became more *specific and subject to validation* prior to our next meeting. For instance, "Several of you have mentioned how RG focuses on the 'why' of history. What does this term 'why' mean to you?" During our periodic meetings we also reviewed the accumulated interview data for each of the nine students, and, where appropriate, formulated *individualized questions*. e.g., [to Kathy:] "Has RG ever asked you questions for which you had no answers?" and [to Paul:] "Do you think there are winners and losers in history?" We also asked our interviewees to discuss any important student-student and teacher-student interactions observed by the researchers just prior to the interviews. (Procedurally, we interviewed students immediately following our classroom observations.) Immediately after the classroom observations, we also interviewed RG, so we could ask her questions contextualized within the interactions of the class members.

Second, we conducted 33 **classroom observations** in which we focused on teacher-student and student-student interactions as class members both analyzed historical events and began formulating their perspectives toward history. Third, the researchers analyzed **student papers** (critiques written in August, position papers in January, and historiographies in May),

to assess student progress in the four analysis skills and development of perspective requisite to SDL. Fourth, the team constructed a **student questionnaire** distributed to the entire class and based on questions formulated at our research meetings (see Appendix A for this questionnaire).

Data Treatment and Analysis.

The researchers developed a rubric for analysis grounded in the interview and questionnaire data: 1) student expectations for the course, 2) emerging perspectives towards learning, 3) emerging perspectives toward American history, and 4) analysis of student work. The professor coordinated the data analysis by periodically asking Wheat and Fleming to integrate new interview and observation data into the existing framework for their respective students (Keedy had one student, and Wheat and Fleming four students each). The revised framework was circulated periodically among all four researchers and critiqued for clarity and accuracy.

The questionnaires were pre-coded with the nine students' names so data collected on analysis skills and SDL could be integrated into the rubric for analysis. The four researchers evaluated the three papers written by each of the nine students for the four skills relating to analysis and SDL by using a 4-1 Likert-type scale: 4=skills are evident in this paper; 3=(barely) adequate evidence for these skills; 2=minimal evidence; 1=no evidence. The researchers used a modified Delphi technique to reach an inter-rater agreement of .85 across their ratings.

Immediately below we set forth our rubric for analysis.

Then, in our final analysis, we synthesize our rubric with the classroom observation data (for contextual richness), evaluations of papers, and additional teacher interview excerpts. Were the data sources consistent? What contextualized meanings could we construct?

Rubric for Analysis

For this paper we preface each student's case with a brief general background followed by each student's interpretation of: 1) the meaning of "analytic skills", 2) perspective towards history, and 3) the meaning of "self-directed learning". For brevity, only four student cases are included in the text; Appendix B contains the remaining cases. (Pseudonyms are used throughout this paper.)

Jane (Black)

Jane comes from a very protective environment and appears naive and sheltered. She is beginning to find out that the responsibility for learning is on her shoulders: Rather than simply regurgitating facts, one has to interpret the material.

An **analytic learner** breaks material down to understand the real meaning. She has become more analytical this year by looking at problems as pieces to understand their underlying causes. Writers are products of their environments; she now understands that to read a book better, one has to understand the author's background.

Perspective Toward History. In this course Jane has developed an ability to see both sides of an issue and not just

read blindly what a textbook says. Because of her readings on women, slavery, etc. she will be very knowledgeable when they study the Civil War period and she'll be able to "have fun" with that time period.

Jane reflected in the survey that **self-directed learner** means taking the initiative to learn: She has become a more self-directed learner this year by reading outside material and searching for new ideas and perspectives. Jane now is more confident in defending a position because of her analytic skills and takes more interest in what she learns.

Jane is willing to ask questions for clarification of ideas that other students are not willing to ask. Jane doesn't understand why the other students don't ask questions like she does when confused! "You don't learn anything when you just sit there confused." "You have to make your own incentive. She doesn't make you take notes. You have to want to take them on your own."

Karen (White).

Karen is very able but also compliant. "We need teacher-to-student interaction at the beginning of an assignment. Then we can interact with each other." Karen's parents are educators, and she understands the value of her education. She is much further along toward self direction than many of the other students. Karen understands that "Somehow, I am supposed to construct the big picture."

Karen continues to place emphasis on self-interpretation, the

"interrelationship of one historical event with another." She constructs [it] from details, names, and dates given by RG. Karen then uses that framework to review daily specifics in class. The "big picture involves the inter-relatedness on one historical event with another."

Analysis Skills. "I've always been taught to have an open mind and to get the real facts one must compare several viewpoints and average them together, [i.e., the ability to look beyond surface value]." "I have learned that to judge history just by appearance is to miss key ideas."

"Dates and names don't mean as much as the events. I tend to focus on what happened rather than who did it and when. I do like to work in a general time frame and connect the big names. I can't ignore Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln, but it is not necessary to learn every name and date."

Perspective Toward History. "I haven't changed that much; I was brought up by an historian and an anthropologist [this statement may mean that, because of her background, she is always changing]." Karen's perspective is oriented towards feminism, economic oppression, e.g., those in power interpret History to maintain their power.

She used to think of history as a series of dates and places. Her perspective has changed to an emphasis on "connectedness," e.g., "The Jacksonian Era was necessary to laying the foundation for the Civil War." When asked whether her opinion of some historical event had been changed by discussions and readings in this class, Karen answered: "By doing a Marxist historiography, my

entire perspective on history has changed. I may not agree with Marx' views, but it is easy to see his point. It's a very different, interesting, and rather cynical way of interpreting our country's past and present. I've enjoyed learning about all the different views of history."

Karen sees a **self-directed learner** in very personal terms. "I make myself work; nobody forces me to." Getting work done ahead of time and not at the last minute is one way in which Karen sees herself as becoming more self-directed. In this history course she has learned to take a stand and not be passive. "If I don't speak up, often people get away with saying stupid things."

John (white).

John had a life-changing experience this summer when he became the youngest assistant foreman of any employee at a nearby entertainment park. He liked the self dignity in working and is now quite motivated educationally.

John watches RG because "I visualize what she is talking about; I picture faces, places and sounds to make the information 'stick'." He memorizes facts, names and dates to build a base of chronology so that he can interpret. "I'm still taking notes in the same way. Tests are easier for me now because I have learned the format of the essay tests. I still like to study with someone else the night before a test."

Analysis Skills. In the interviews John often used the term "big picture," which he later defined as usefulness of information to the real world. "Information is not segmented" [he

might have been referring to standard history texts].

When asked the question ("How do you 'make sense' of or 'put the pieces together' of all the facts, dates, and peoples' names you have been given?"), John replied: "An understanding of the trends moving history helps tremendously in piecing together the facts." A person's experience definitely influences writing: "I try to pick out details that show their bias and decide what parts of their writing are reliable."

Perspective Toward History. "Before this class I thought history was a lot of 'what' happened. History really is social and political trends. Events are not chance; history unfolds and repeats itself." "My view of the Civil War has greatly been changed as a result of this class. I did not understand all of the social issues leading to the conflict."

John defines being **self-directed** as situational with an individual putting the responsibility to learn on oneself. He has become more self-directed through his efforts to decide what's best for him to work on. John also has learned that any viewpoint can be defended to people passively accepting what the teacher says without knowing the reasons why.

Paul (White).

The son of a prominent banker, Paul attended a private school in Jackson, Mississippi. He enjoys the (current) small-town atmosphere at SHS, which he prefer to the big city high school he used to attend. He signed up for this course because he did not want to be spoon-fed facts: He wanted to learn how to do some

research on his own and to be analytical.

RG, however, provided her perspective on Paul: "I think there is something going on at home, and he got caught doing something wrong. He's really not studying for these exams and he's not reading the text or the primary resources. His essays are not cohesive. He's going downhill, and his paper on the Jacksonian Period was really pathetic. Whereas other students are improving in their analytic skills, Paul's skills are declining. He has great potential, but he's not using it."

Analytic Skills. "People tend to see only the problems at their own social level and they have trouble relating to others, especially those below them [in SES terms]; I keep this in mind in analyzing historical writings....I have learned to consider what biases the author may have by briefly studying his life." (He was most emphatic that his expectations had been met. "I used to learn by memorization; now by analysis and reading.")

Paul hopes to learn more about different interpretations of history and how they are caused by different backgrounds. "You often can't tell what happens unless you were there. I mean a few hundred years after Columbus and still the Europeans didn't think to consider the Native Indians."

Perspective Toward History. "I see government as really limited and usually does the best job it can possibly do. People really have to make it on their own, and that's what has made this country great." One investigator asked Paul: "Do you think there are winners and losers in History?" Paul replied, "With all our amendments, people can have their needs met. They win or lose

depending on whether they work hard or not"

"I enjoy History more and more because I am learning that people basically are the same. There's always a mix between some people who are out for themselves and other people who care about other people."

Self-Directed Learning. A student takes education in his own hands, and researches topics in depth and with more detail.

"I know more facts and positions, so I am better able to support my arguments."

Study Findings

Students over the course of a year demonstrated some (qualified) **analysis** abilities but provided little evidence of **self-directed** learning. Below we provide the evidence for these findings.

Development of Student Analytic Skills.

Students' self-reports (as indicated in the above rubric) were clustered around: 1) why events happened as they did, and 2) understanding the various biases and backgrounds of authors. These two themes support the evaluating (critiquing author) and interpreting (understand viewpoints) skills defined as two of the four analysis skills for this study. Only Mary (analysis of primary sources) and Karen (using different viewpoints to "average together") appeared to even imply understanding of the justifying (supporting one's position) and use of content (using information for a thesis) skills.

How do these data compare with our evaluation of analytic

skills in the student writings? As indicated in Table 1, Across

Insert Table 1 about here

the four analytic skill domains, all students except Paul demonstrated an improvement over the course of the year. When the four skills are examined separately, they tend to support the interview data. We averaged the third column for each skill, since we assumed that the last paper evaluated was the most accurate indication of their *developed* abilities. Evaluate (3.1) and interpret (3) surpassed the other skills (which had, respectively, 2.6 and 2.8 means).

Classroom observation and teacher interview data (with data collection dates in parentheses) also can be used to support a qualified use of analytic skills. Orally, students could justify positions when arguing among themselves; positions were taken on the economic and political survival of the United States among RG, Joshua, and Karen (12/16). Paul (12/16) analyzed the Dred Scott Decision and concluded that generations have different interpretations that then are justified by policy. (See Appendix C for a lengthy example of interactions mainly between Karen and John).

Students had far more problems, however, in analysis when they had to write class reports and take notes. RG (12/16)

Table 1

Student Analysis Skills Demonstrated in Their Writing^a

Pseudonym	evaluate ^b	interpret ^c	justify ^d	content ^e	student's perspective ^f	+/- ^g
Jane	2 2 3 ^h	1 2 3	1 1 3	2 2 3	1 1 1	6
Mary	2 2 2	1 1 2	1 1 1	1 2 2	1 2 2	3
Lisa	3 4 4	3 4 4	3 4 4	3 4 4	2 4 4	6
Larry	2 2 3	1 1 3	2 2 3	1 1 3	2 1 3	7
Karen	3 4 4	3 4 4	4 4 4	4 4 4	3 4 4	3
John	2 2 3	3 3 4	2 3 3	3 3 3	1 2 3	5
Kathy	2 3 3	1 2 3	2 3 2	1 3 2	2 3 3	5
Jim	3 3 3	3 3 3	3 4 3	3 4 4	2 3 4	3
Paul	2 2 3 3.1 ⁱ	4 2 1 3	3 2 1 2.6	2 2 1 2.8	3 3 4 3	-6

^a Scale: 1) no evidence of this skill. 2) minimal evidence of this skill. 3) adequate evidence of this skill. 4) skills are evident in this paper. ^b Evaluate - Give good and bad points of what you are looking at and an educated opinion as to the value of the reading—advantages and disadvantages. ^c Interpret - Does the student understand the various interpretations and historical writers? ^d Justify - Does the student show good reason and evidence for the position the student has taken. ^e Content of Paper - Is there a clear concise thesis stated: Is it logically argued with no contradictions: Is the content factual, does it support the thesis and chronologically correct? ^f Student's Perspective - Has the student perspective identified in our study emerged in his or her writings? ^g Total of increases or decreases across six analysis domains. ^h First Column: critique written in August. Second Column: position paper written in January. Third Column: historiography written in May. ⁱ Nine-student average score on third paper.

commented on research team reports, e.g., foreign policy from 1800-1860: "The guidelines for the assignment were very open ended, but they were asked specifically to present from a perspective and a thorough analysis of their topics." [The observer and she had agreed that the presentations were factual, regurgitation of the text.] "There was little interpretation, analysis or synthesis of information. Perspectives were not given." She concluded: "Students don't know that they should be writing down in their notes different interpretations and analyses of history. They think they only have to write down factual information."

This pattern of writing down factual information and avoiding various analyses was reconfirmed both in the (1/23) classroom observation and the followup teacher interview: "They know the difference between the lecture of mere facts and my analysis because they dutifully write down all the factual framework lectures, but don't take any notes on analysis. This is a consistent pattern."

When generalizing about analytic skills, we discovered a distinction between writing and oral modes of expression. More evidence of student evaluation and interpretation was found in their writing, and more justifying orally was discovered in their interactions with each other. Use of content seemed the least emphasized.

Student Self-Directed Learning.

We present our evidence on each condition for SDL: developing a perspective, demonstrating a self-regulated ability, and using deliberate attachment from the present to revise one's thinking. As indicated in the evaluation of student writings, more *student perspectives* emerged as the year progressed. Most of their perspectives, however, were not grounded in *historical* events but instead phrased in vague or "current" terms, e.g., seeing both sides (Jane), oppression towards minorities (Larry), people, not the government, can get things done (Paul). Only Karen (Marxist historiography) and John (Civil War) included historic references in their perspectives. Only Karen was observed as actually referring to primary source documents during classroom discussions, i.e., blacks performed as admirably as whites in the Civil War (2/07) and the Degler interpretation (4/16). (This dearth of historical context is corroborated by lack of use of content as an analytic skill--pointed out above).

All nine students perceived self-directed learning as doing and completing assignments on their own, not as an intellectual growth process, i.e., using their minds well by developing an internalized, historically grounded perspective). Only five students transcended this rudimentary definition of SDL and even implied some degree of *self-regulated ability*, e.g., taking responsibility for what to learn by choosing articles (Melissa); reading outside materials (Jane). Significantly enough, the student with the most demonstrated self-regulated ability (Karen) also defined SDL partly as "Getting work done ahead of time and

not at the last minute."

RG (10/29) commented that maybe four or five could look at the Columbus discovery from different perspectives: Karen, Jason, Paul, John, and possibly Lisa. Others entered the course with the traditional view of history, i.e., let's hear and write down the facts and spit back those to the teacher. By the end of the year, about 60% had a perspective, but many perspectives of these were mainly influenced by their peers [using social, not historic, contexts].

RG (2/18) continued her assessment: "Melissa's cooperative learning group (CLG) is reading a lot of the primary sources. That group will go well. Jane's group [with the two black girls who were asking about the economic conditions] are very interested in this period, because the effects of reconstruction has had a direct effect on their lives today."

RG made her final assessment (6/01): From August to now, some have made considerable progress. In August they asked, "Where are the sources?" "What do you want me to do?.... Now we have people like Melissa going to the private sources and Ann reading about the Reconstruction Bill."

Yet of the nine students in this class, only Karen's work approximated the three criteria for SDL (her choice of Marxist historiography, use of primary sources, and apparent detachment from the present, e.g., "the big picture"). The other eight students were not analyzed as having perspectives as defined in this study. They appeared to have attitudes, e.g., John's conservatism, Larry's oppression of minorities, grounded far more

in their backgrounds than in American history.

Theoretic Discussion

For teachers committed to shifting responsibility for learning to students, encouraging student use of analysis skills appears easier than self-directed learning. Even these college-bound, AP history juniors, among other things, lack a disposition towards developing perspectives grounded in historical events. We have three implications for restructuring classrooms.

First, this study confirms an implication made by several researchers, e.g., McCarthy & Peterson, 1991; McQuillan & Muncey, 1991; Prestine, 1991) that changing classroom norms from traditional instruction to student-oriented teaching for understanding may be the most difficult of the four restructuring strategies identified by Murphy (1991). Students apparently cannot take eleven years of "spitback" courses (a term used by our study participants), and suddenly become self-directed learners. These students, with the exception of Karen, did not learn how to use history as a perceptual screen informing and revising their perspectives.

Second, our sense for the importance of peer influence differs from the classroom analysis of Phelan, Davidson, and Cao (1992), who claim that students favor teachers both willing and able to: 1) assist them in understanding the material through careful explanations, 2) accept different explanations of the course material, and 3) encourage cooperative group work. In our classroom observation and student interview data, RG was adept at

creating the teacher-student rapport requisite to development of student perspectives towards United States history. We posit that in our research the students, not the teacher, are the potential problem. Some students seem unwilling to take the responsibility for creating meaning themselves. (Six of the original 30 students dropped out after the first semester; nineteen percent claimed in an entire classroom survey that they did not read the textbook, Bailey's An American Pageant, 1987, eighth edition). In RG's attempts to transfer responsibility for learning to her students, a crucial question arises from our data: *Are the students, particularly after many years of passive, intellectually-neutered relationships among themselves and with their teachers, willing to do the work required of meaning making and self-directed learning?*

Last, as advocated by Timar, school reform must be viewed systematically, and we conclude in this paper that we have yet another example of the need for systemic reform. We cannot make major changes in one area without affecting other areas. RG's American history class did not exist in an ideological vacuum; its members, instead, were affected by both school and district social norms. (According to RG, only three other teachers at SHS were making similar student-empowering pedagogical changes.) With different organization structures and programmatic efforts¹, self-directed learning might have become a reality in RG's class. Little of these structures and programmatic efforts, however, are occurring at this time at SHS. As Fullan (1982) pointed out, genuine changes can only occur in supportive environments.

Suggestions for Instructional Supervisors

How can instructional supervisors help teachers make historical events, contexts, and trends more meaningful to students? First, supervisors and teachers can implement advanced technology into classrooms to bring "real life" to historical events, e.g., different personal motives of Columbus or of 1787 Constitutional Convention participants.

Second, supervisors can use participant observation within cooperative learning groups to assess development of student analysis skills and self-directed learning (independent of interactions with their own teachers). With this information they can backward map with teachers appropriate classroom instructional strategies. Supervisors can help teachers structure CLGs to prevent the few, vociferous students from dominating their peers attempting to sort out their different perspectives. In-class writing to learn (Mayher, Lester, & Pradl, 1983) and historical case studies (Wassermann, 1992) are strategies encouraging students to focus on historical context. (Also see Cone, 1992, for some excellent instructional strategies for non-tracked AP English classrooms.)

Third, K-12 supervisors might consider spending the majority of their time devoted to change facilitation with primary-grade teachers and students. Eleventh grade students in this study were so conditioned by spitback courses that they perceived self-directed learning largely as completing work on their own. With these supervisory strategies, teachers and students are more likely to set classrooms norms that transcend mere lively debate

about current issues and encourage self-directed learning and perspectives anchored in *historical context*.

Footnotes

¹Ladwig, 1991, cites length and scheduling of classes, amount of planning time, formation of teaching teams, number of students in a class and total number per teacher as examples of organizational structures. Ladwig & King, 1992, cite curriculum development for promotion of student thinking, peer observations, demonstration teaching, other efforts to enhance collegiality and common departmental vision as examples of programmatic efforts.

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Appendix A

Table A-1

Class Survey for Classroom Restructuring Study: Open-Ended Questions

1. What does the term "self-directed" learner mean to you?
 2. Specify how you have or have not become a more self directed learner.
 3. Which three students in your class have different perspectives that might make you think differently about an issue in history? Identify each student and briefly explain that perspective.
 4. What is your perspective towards American history? How has this course helped you to develop a consistent way of viewing events and controversies--based on your personal history and background?
 5. How does a writer's own experience influence one's view towards American history? How do you keep this viewpoint based on experience in mind when you read and write about history?
 6. What does the term analytic in terms of student learning mean to you? Specify how you have or have not, become more analytical in your approach to history.
 7. Why did you respond this way to the question: Does [RG] control what you learn?
 8. Over the course of a year, I am more able to take and defend a position on an historical event or concept. Why or why not?
 9. Contrast how you generally learned before you took this class with how you now learn.
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Appendix B

Rubric for Analysis of Five (Remaining) Students

Mary (White)

Mary is a very organized student with good study habits. She began a study group to prepare for exams, since she is safer among a larger number of students and can learn from others.

Mary does not want to take a public stand on an issue in class for fear of being wrong: "The students won't let you forget what your previous position was." They want her to remain constant and not change her mind.

Being **analytical** means determining the "why" of something. When looking at a piece of historical writing, she tries to look at the author's background to determine his/her bias. In this course Mary has learned how to analyze issues and material, i.e., determining the cause of something. "This course helped me to analyze different sources. We went deeper behind the factual stuff....This class pushed me."

Perspective Toward History. History is Mary's favorite subject, partly because she can "picture events as they happen" and because she can understand the "why's of the past" [Eliciting participant's perspective was difficult for the researchers].

A **self-directed** learner takes on more responsibility as to how Mary will learn. She has become a more self-directed learner this year in choosing the articles to read for papers. When looking at a piece of historical writing, she tries to look at the author's background to determine his/her bias.

Lisa (White).

Lisa is very confident and opinionated. Unintimidated neither by the instructor nor the subject matter, Lisa is comfortable with the material because she understands it. Lisa's academic interests are science and math (she plans to attend Duke), and she puts little effort into her history.

Analysis Skills. In this course Lisa has become more analytical because she now looks at why things happen, not just the facts. "The writers' viewpoints are going to be drastically different depending on background and I try to use this to sort out what is biased and what isn't." "I have become more analytical because I don't just look at the fact that something happened, I look at why. I can now look through situations and view history from all sides"

Perspective Toward History. "All history is motivated by the pursuit of money, which gives power. I used to think history was just another happy ending story in a book, but now I realize the motives behind human history." This year Lisa finds history like a soap opera because she sees all the pieces fitting together. This class is easy because "You do not have to memorize each little detail."

A **self-directed learner** chooses his/her own direction in a subject and goes off in that direction with self-motivation. The teacher has not spoon-fed them this year, so she's had to pick up the gauntlet and learn the information herself. "You had to do this to survive." She feels very much like an independent learner

because "I decide what I learn." She feels that "knowledge can be used as weapons" [when warding off another student's viewpoint]. Before this course she learned by memorization; now she learns through analysis and reading.

Larry (black). Larry is the only black male in the class. Although he has high ability and is self-confident, Larry is absent frequently because of his mother's illness. Unless taunted by his adversaries mainly over racial issues, he rarely speaks out in class. Larry would be a major player in class meaning making, if he attended class more often. (In the Spring semester his absences did decrease, and he has become a team player: He speaks out in class often and is very sure of his opinions.)

Analysis Skills. RG has helped Larry to develop writing skills and interpretive skills. According to Larry students in this class really look to see if the historians are presenting flawed theories of why something happened. "We have the advantage of looking at history through time."

Perspective Towards History. "Our society is oppressive of minorities." Larry sees history as a support subject for debate. (He is a member of the school debating team.)

Self-Directed Learner. "We are the meaning makers; we decide what we learn."

Kathy (White).

Kathy's mom made her take Ms. Gentry's AP History class because she wanted her to experience a college-like class. Kathy

has very strict, fundamental Christian values and opinions. She sees the world differently than most of the other kids, and is not confident with different viewpoints: "I'm getting used to hearing other views which make me feel uncomfortable. I wish I could say something [in class], but I'm not that articulate."

She does not want anything to interfere with or influence her moral, fundamental beliefs. RG, "tells us what we're thinking and then why it is wrong." Her mother is a major pressure in her life (and her best friend).

Analysis Skills. "The writer brings out his views in everything; he can make you think and analyze them." "I see the underlying reasons for a war or event in history--and don't look on the outside only."

"My writing is better--even in other subjects. There is carryover from my efforts at analysis." "I'm supposed to analyze more, but I'm not sure what that means. All I know is I want it to be harder now so it will be easier when I go to college."

"It is more the content of what happened rather than the dates and names. Some names are important, and if they are [RG] will make sure we know them." When asked about how RG focuses on the "why?" of history, Kathy replied, "What are the causes of history? If there were a war, like the Civil War, the pre-Civil War period is maybe more important than the war itself. Why did the big things happen?"

Perspective Towards History. "There's more to history than repeating what's what. RG is trying to get us to see not as much 'what?' as 'why?'. What matters is still your own

perception. Facts will always be facts."

Self-Directed Learning. "Students must learn themselves. [RG] does not pamper us, so either we failed or we learned. At the beginning I didn't know where to stand. I can organize better now; I used to spit back information, now I use that information and analyze everything."

Jim (White).

Jim comes from a wealthy, conservative family (his father and grandfather are physicians). Extremely bright and verbal, Jim often plays the class instigator by advocating his extreme Republican views.

Analysis Skills. Jim's view of history ventures past dates and names into the why and how of history. "Rather than just learning about facts and when things happened, we learn all the actions that led up to a certain event and many different interpretations concerning that event. This is better than just learning facts because it develops critical thinking skills and analysis."

"I have always been able to see all sides or many sides to an issue. Now I can truly understand and express what they mean. Authors' viewpoints are drastically different depending on background and I try to use this [these differences] to sort out what is biased and what isn't." Jim makes sense of history by connecting facts, dates, and people and determining how they are interrelated. "I have learned to think and analyze things on my own and not just agree with whatever someone else says" (even if

it's the teacher).

Perspective Toward History. "I've learned a lot of new things, but nothing that has changed any of my views. In this course I have confirmed my conservative views."

Self-Directed Learning. A self-directed learner learns everything on one's own. He has become more self-directed as he analyzes things on his own and does not just agree with whatever someone says.

Appendix C

Interview Excerpt on Student-Teacher, Student-Student Interactions
on Jacksonian Democracy (11/04)

In a small group discussion of Jacksonian Democracy, RG posed the question asking whether Andrew Jackson was truly a "great white father" to the Indian nation in his domestic programs.

JJ¹ - you saw how Jackson reacted in Florida.

KS - yes, with the Seminoles.

KS - you don't know that!

JJ - she loves doing this, doesn't she?

JJ - they [Indians] were here first

KS - but we are here better!

JJ - I want to change groups

KS - why should Jackson care? These, by the way, are not my personal views.

JJ - then why?

KS - somebody has to take the other side

RG - were they [Indians] unhappy?

KS - yes, but unaware of it

JQ - ignorance is bliss

JJ - he [Jackson] is a jerk

RG - how was Jackson's attitude transformed into policy?

KS - maybe pushing them [Indians] west was better than annihilation

JJ - we should have left them alone

JQ - the vast majority, I'm guessing, was vocal against

it [genocide]; someone had to be questioning it [the policy]

RG - what brought about Indian removal?

KS - people, more land

JQ - population growth

KS - security - get Indians out of the way

RG - did we act out of necessity?

JQ - it was perceived as necessity

JJ - we perceived we needed the land; the Indians were trespassing.

RG - what gave Europeans the right to do this?

KS - force

RG - what gave them the right?

KS - power

JJ - none of those; higher IQ

KS - power; if they had it, we'd be on reservations

JQ - we would have negotiated

RG - have our beliefs about the Indians changed?

KS - no; they're still on the reservation

JQ - we feel sorry for them

WB - I don't feel sorry for them

JJ - Nazi, KKK

AB - I'm not responsible for what my ancestors did.

¹JJ= Jack; KS=Karen; JQ=John; AB=Alice.